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you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always celebrated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her young ones. The Thunderbird clan is in charge of the tribe, and when the chief feeds the tribe all rejoice and the standard is raised.

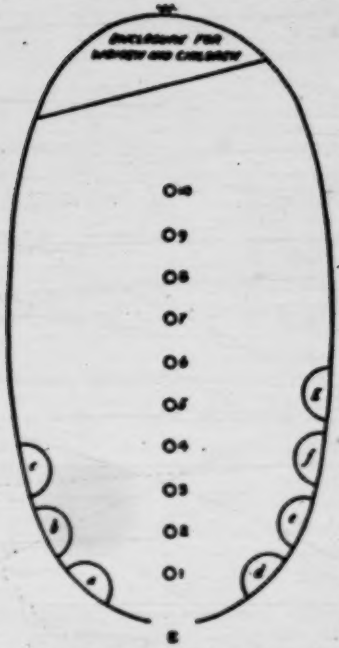


FIG. 36.—Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Receivers of food. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Bear-skin for northeaster. 2, Bear-skin for turtle. 3, Bear-skin for Thunderbird. 4, Bear-skin for sun. 5, Bear-skin for moon. 6, Bear-skin for morning star. 7, Bear-skin for earth. 8, Bear-skin for fire. 9, Bear-skin for heaven. 10, Bear-skin for night system.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan feast (fig. 36) were obtained, fortunately both from a man and a woman. The feast was generally given during the month called *Ihundjwi'ra* (i. e., bear month), corresponding roughly to our January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

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614 796 782 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely through life, and to make our lives pleasant. I will not tell the origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

[537]

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

[533]

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons.

[805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may thereafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old. Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regarding it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco. 614 776 537 782

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then sing the four clan songs.) 614 776

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 [805] [825] Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it.

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

### THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it.

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that

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614 537 [372] you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

"To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings [782] of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good? I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

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"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you (humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are present I greet." 796 614 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grandfather fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787] blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782] feathers, and food.

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796 614 537 [782] feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted. I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have counciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

*Types and component elements of the ceremony.* For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

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796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

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727 796 our grandfather, the scalp, who is standing in the center of the lodge. Place a plate for the scalp and bring it to that brave man." Then the brave warriors eat the head, and when that is finished the servants distribute meat and food to those present who have not taken part in the head eating. While they are eating the host blows on [534] his flute and sings some songs until the eating is over. Then he rises and speaks again:

727 796 "All you who are present to give us counsel and who sit here in the place of others, I greet you. For the warriors who would counsel with us repeatedly and for the sacred speeches of our fathers do we ● 537 ask. In this ceremony to-day we will select as many war-bundle owners as are present to eat together with our grandfather, who is standing in the center of our lodge (the scalp). And if they select me to eat with the scalp, poor and pitiable as I am, it would be good.

"Should sickness suddenly come upon a village all those who are sick may take part in this ceremony. For our grandfather, who stands in the middle of the lodge, is no weakling, and when they take hold of him they are obtaining supernatural powers, it is said. We are trying to trample upon the soul (*wanąyži'rak*) (of the scalp). If we trample upon it, all the goods of life that were still coming to him when he was killed will be transferred to us. As many as are going to take part in this dance to-night should try to make the soul of our grandfather (the scalp) more amenable to our prayers. So all you women and men see to it that you dance with all your strength. Do not take this matter lightly, for we obtain life thereby, we were told.

"Councilors of the different clans who are seated here with us, I greet you all."

727 796 Then they sang *hoi'ix're* songs and danced the *hoi'ix're* dance. All night they danced. They did not stop for a moment. Thus they tried to conquer the soul of their grandfather (scalp). They danced till early in the morning and then just as the sun appeared they carried the drum outside of the lodge to the victory post and danced the victory dance. As soon as the sun was high in the heavens they stopped. Then they went to sleep.

*The second day.*—Just before the sun was setting they all came and danced the victory dance again. Then the host got ready to furnish the meal again. All his female relatives who had received presents took charge of the preparation of the food, which the servants had previously obtained. As soon as the victory dance was over they entered the dancing lodge. Then the host spoke, and when he finished he sang four songs, and as soon as these were finished they all got ready to eat. Then the host said that he would give the heads of the animals to the donor and that the latter might select those warriors whom he wished to have as partners in the

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(11) *Terminal dog ritual.*—This consists simply of a speech by the host to the assembled guests, telling them that the dog is to be sent to Disease-giver as an offering, and that he will pray to Disease-giver to preserve them from disease.

ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF ACTION AND SPEECHES

*Circuit of the lodge.*—This is always made in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. The reason given for this method is that it is supposed to represent the journey of the Night Spirits around the earth.

*Method of greeting.*—This is the same as that which exists in all Winnebago ceremonies and is accurately described in my article on the Winnebago Medicine dance.[1]

*Types of speeches.*—This subject is of great importance because, while it is true that a certain freedom is allowed in the method of delivery and the choice of words, on the other hand, their content and to a large extent their symbolism and imagery are stereotyped. The speeches might perhaps best be divided into the following groups:

(a) *General addresses.*—These are generally delivered by the host to his guests and always contain expressions of gratitude for the kindness shown by the guests in condescending to accept his invitation.

(b) *Speeches of thankfulness.*—These are generally delivered by the guests and always contain complimentary references to the zealousness of the host in attending to his religious duties, expressions of gratitude for the invitation extended to them, and protestations, couched in the strongest terms, of their unworthiness for the honor thrust upon them and their utter inability to do aught that might insure the acceptance by the spirits of the offerings extended to them.

(c) *Speeches of admonition.*—These are plainly exhortations by the host to his band and by the leaders of the guests' bands to their bands, beseeching them to do their utmost to insure the success of the ceremony.

(d) *Speeches to the spirits.*—These are prayers varying in length and complexity.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST AND ITS PLACE IN THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WINNEBAGO

The ceremonial organization of the Winnebago can be divided into three types, according to the unit of organization that prevails. We find societies either based on common religious qualifications, such as being blessed by the same spirit, or those based on a fixed unit, as the five bands of the Medicine dance; organizations based on the clan, as the clan feasts; or, finally, temporary organizations based on war exploits, such as the Hôk'ixe're dance, in which the

[1] Jour. Amer. Folklore, vol. 24, pp. 149-208, 1911.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djobenäggjwi'ɣxga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djobenäggjwi'ɣxga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.[*]

### The Tobacco Offering to the Spirits

*Host's initial speech.* "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them.[†] If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.[‡] You are thinking only of *our* grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco."

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[*] This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it partakes more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

[†] Every buckskin is marked with a symbol moved to the particular spirit to whom it is offered.

[‡] It is one of the cardinal traits of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be deprecated and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth.

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5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters prepared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
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announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle.

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!".

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

## *A War-Bundle Feast*

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling.

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life.

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows:

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



*159 796 ● 537 926 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say, [182] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this [182] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunder- [196] birds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who [182] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send forth my greetings to you all.

Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten.

7: Radin P-b. (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12



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but to all those present. In the olden days the old people used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as these older people would have liked, so you are doing. Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buckskin, feathers and tobacco -all of them objects that please him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend these things so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listening only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly, it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver, send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated here.

* 159 796 726 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took the lead. I followed and the others came up behind



1. 1 [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

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## §13. *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

My grandfather was buried in the manner customary in the Thunderbird clan. His relatives got some one to bury him and the chief mourner invited a distinguished person to talk to the corpse before it was dressed for burial. The person addressed the body as follows:

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You are about to leave your relatives. They will remain on earth, objects of pity to all. You must proceed on your road and turn to your left after you start. Continue until you come to the one who is in charge of spirits. When you see him, make the following request—that he bestow upon us all that you fell short of in this world. The means of offering, the tobacco, which Earthmaker gave us, we have given you to take along. As you go along you will come to a place where the road branches off. Do not turn to the right for that leads to the bad spirits. Turn to the left and soon you will come to a guard. Point your pipe at him and he will be thankful. This man will wear a complete suit of clothes and he will be terrible to look upon. He will smoke with you and you must address him as follows: "Grandfather, before I left earth the people told me to ask you to point out which road I was to travel in." Then he will tell you and you will pass ahead and come after a while to a fire on both sides of the earth. The man in charge of it will wear a complete suit of clothes

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*159 764 775 ● 539 just like the former one. Point the stem of your pipe toward him and he will be very thankful and smoke your pipe. Then make your request—that you be permitted to pass—and he will grant it. As you continue you will come to a round lodge where you will find an old woman. Point your pipe at her and she will permit you to go ahead. Your hair will now have become white but you will not be unconscious. On the contrary you will be in complete possession of your senses. Then you will come to the place where he who is in control of all the souls sits. Go toward him and [776] point your pipe at him. When he is smoking it ask him to show you the road to Earthmaker, our father, and he will point it out to you. Then you must proceed until you come to Earthmaker. When you get to him, point the stem of your pipe toward him and if he takes it and smokes it you must say, "Earthmaker, our father, you know very well what kind of a life I have led." Then he will answer, "My son, you have done well."

*159 764 [967] [301] After this speech the body was dressed by the person who was to do the actual burying. The best clothes of the deceased were put on, beads placed around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings on his fingers and earrings in his ears. It was then placed in the casket.

[967] When the grave-diggers completed their work, the mourners blackened their faces with charcoal and the corpse was taken up by the man to whom this duty was assigned. The mourners followed behind weeping. Thus they proceeded to the grave. When they got there the corpse was immediately placed in it. Then the chief mourner stepped across the center of the grave and the others did the same. When they started

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

back for home they were told under no circumstances to turn around and look in the direction of the grave. 159* 764

As soon as they returned home the man in charge of the funeral arrangements went around the village and invited every one to come to the wake. Brave men and warriors are especially welcome. 159* 765

The mourners prepared food and when the sun went down the chief mourner took a stick made of hard wood, lit it, and carried it to the grave, placing it at the east end. It must be still burning when put there. After this the man returned and the funeral manager prepared everything for the feast. When all were gathered around he rose and addressed the people as follows:

Relatives, all you who are gathered around here, I greet you. I have done nothing of any consequence which could justify you in coming here and thus honoring me, but being relatives of mine, you came in the kindness of your hearts to comfort me. I have prepared cooked food and boiled water for the dead person. Tobacco is also handy and as soon as the attendant is ready he will pass this around to those who wish any. 159* 765 537 ● 539

It is good that so many of you have come to-night. You know that we are not creating any new ceremony but are simply following what our ancestors found to be true and good. And as it is said that we should not weep aloud, you will not hear any of us making utterings of sorrow. And even though we weep silently, should any one come to us we will look upon them smiling. We therefore beg of you, should you find us happy in mood, not to think the worst of us. [152]

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 765 795 539 537 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the departed person. This one then rose and spoke as follows:

To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you. [782]

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

Then the pipe is passed on to all those present. After that the leader drinks a little water and passes this around too. It is only after pipe and water have passed all the way around that the people begin to eat. When the meal is over the attendant takes the pipe and some tobacco and places it before some distinguished warrior who has been invited to the wake. The latter is then asked to speak to the soul of the deceased and tell him the route to take on the journey to the spirit land. This warrior then rises and speaks:

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Ho, I greet you all. We are not greeting one another because we are happy as on ordinary occasions but because it is the custom to come together at a wake. Now I shall show the soul of the departed the route he is to take and the care he must observe on his journey. I shall announce to him the ghosts over whom I have control and who are to conduct him safely to his destination. I will not exaggerate [22] when I speak of my war exploits but relate only what really happened to me. It is said that if a person exaggerates and tells falsehoods in recounting his exploits on such an occasion, the soul of the departed will stumble on his journey. I shall therefore only tell the truth and I shall tell the chief of the spirits to guide our dead one safely over all obstacles. Now I am not going to speak of anybody else's exploits but only of my own. Only those over whom I have control will I put at the disposal of our dead one to act as his guide. The spirit-tobacco, the spirit-food, and the fire, these things the ghosts over whom

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[22] For the dangers of exaggeration on such an occasion see note 15. It was also believed to cause the death of the warrior who indulged in it.



1 1 [The author apparently means note 17. See category 116, p. 59 -- analyst]

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I have control will carry for him, and they will lead him by the hand until he reaches his destination. I greet you all.

Then he narrated his war exploit. He went into great detail. He told as accurately as it was possible [727] how he had killed a man, broken his collar bone and then flayed him; how he had then chopped and cut up the body and mutilated him in such a fashion that he could not be identified; how finally he had stolen his dogs. All night he spoke in this strain. He went on to tell how he had killed and utterly destroyed an entire village so that no one was left to tell of the massacre. All night he told of his war exploits. Sometimes such an account may last two to three hours. When he finished the people all went to sleep.

For three nights the same thing was repeated. Throughout this time a burning ember was placed at [775] the grave. When the spirit was ready to start his journey he took this ember, it is believed.

For the fourth night all the brave men as well as everybody else in the neighborhood were invited. A great quantity of food was prepared and the relatives [524] of the mourners brought objects to be used in the games that are always played at the wake. They tried to comfort the main mourners as much as possible. On the fourth night a burning ember was also placed at the grave of the deceased.

As soon as the attendants prepared the food the chief mourner got up and spoke:

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## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

I greet you all. I know that I am not performing any great action in greeting you. I was in trouble and all my relatives have come to comfort me. You have all asked me to live and not to succumb to my sorrows and I shall therefore try to overcome my grief and sorrow. I will not forget all the good you have done for me. You have been a comfort to me and you have helped me in many things. Now we have come to the last night and I am glad that it is a nice night for the warriors to relate their experiences. If they should say something funny I hope that you will not hold back laughter. I, too, will laugh with you. You are free to make all the noise you care to for I shall feel all the better if you do. This is what I want you to remember. I greet all those who are present here.

Then the one who is to address the spirits speaks:

I greet you all. We have come to this wake for a purpose, much as I would wish that the occasion for it had never happened. Now I am going to tell the soul of the departed the road he is to take, nor will I, by my words, cause him to go astray. On an occasion like this not every one is qualified to speak to the souls of the dead; not every one can do it. My grandfather obtained the right to do it and handed it down to my father, who in turn, turned it over to me Now I am going to breathe upon the soul of the departed and I wish all those present to do the same. It is said that for those who do not make this breathing it is a sign that they will die. So do all of you breathe with me.

Then he said *ha-a* and all joined with him in repeating it. He now began his address to the spirit of the deceased:

## *Crashing Thunder*

Ho-o! Are you ready? I am going to speak of the Four Nights' Wake during which you listened to your relatives and to the words they had to say. I am placing the sacrificial tobacco in the rear of the lodge.

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also is the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey. In the morning when the sun rises, you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. This is the road you must take. As you walk along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you proceed you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Still farther, you will come across some animals and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Go on right along and do not turn back. The objects you have thrown behind you will go to the relatives whom you left behind on earth. They will symbolize victory in war, riches, and food-animals. When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw an object behind you, you will come to a lodge. This lodge you may enter. One of its doors faces the rising sun. As you enter you will find an old woman on your right. Go and sit opposite her. Then your great-grandmother will say to you, "My great-grandchild, what did the people say to you when you were leaving, when your life was over." And you must answer, "My great-grandmother, as I listened to my beloved relatives they said very little indeed. They said that I was breaking their hearts in leaving them and that they hoped that none

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would follow me soon. Then they asked me to make the following four requests:

First: I was to ask for life; that the flames from the lodge fire rise straight upward. Yet they would be satisfied, they said, if at my departure the flames only swayed to and fro.

Second: Whatever fruit had been predestined for me and that I did not taste, my relatives were not to be deprived of.

Third: They also mentioned nuts, all kinds of herbs, all serviceable hides and skins, all medicinal roots and grasses. They asked me to make a request for all the things that grow on the earth.

Fourth: That if any one had a friend his weapon might have a keen edge on one side.

Now, my great-grandmother, these are the requests my relatives commanded me to make."

Then she will answer you and say, "My great-grandchild, you are wise beyond your years. My great-grandchild, my lodge is a place where all who enter must pass an examination. Earthmaker looks upon it as a keen-edged instrument. No clouds of ill omen ever pass over it. The four requests you have made will be granted. The nuts and herbs you have asked for shall be given to you. There will be nothing of that food predestined for you that your relatives will not taste. The hides and skins, all the grasses, they shall possess in plenty. And if they have friends their weapons will be keen on one side. All that they have requested through you will be granted. Now, great-grandson, here is some food for you in this wooden bowl."

If you eat it you will have a headache. She will say,

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"Great-grandson, you have a headache. Let me cup it for you." Then she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not extend as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now be sure that you only take a taste and push the dish away from you for then the old woman will say, "My great-grandchild, all that you have left behind you in that dish represents the vegetable kingdom on the earth. Many who are older than you ate all that I gave them. You have a wise head on young shoulders. All that you have left on the plate will grow on the face of the earth. Now Earthmaker is waiting for you in great expectation. There is the door to the setting sun." On your way you will come to the lodge of the chief of the bad spirits and his fire. Those who come, the souls of the brave men who have come from the land of the spirits, will meet you here and touch you. There the road will branch off toward your right and you will see the footprints representing the footprints of those who have passed into life again. Step into their steps and plant your feet upon their footprints, but be careful that you do not miss any. Before you have gone very far you will come into a forest of bushes alternating with prairies. Here in this beautiful country the souls whose duty it is to gather together the other souls, will come to meet you. Walking on each side of you they will conduct you safely home, to Earthmaker. Here the inquiry that took place in the first lodge will be repeated and answered in the same manner. Then Earthmaker will say to you, "All that your great-grandmother has told you is true. Your relatives are waiting for you in great expectation. Your home is waiting for you."

## *A Funeral in the Thunderbird Clan*

The door of your home will be facing the midday sun. Here you will find your relatives gathered. Then, inasmuch as our ruler will nod assent and express his approval by word of mouth, so shall we do the same.

Then all those assembled at the wake shout *Ho-ha*.

[P. 101]

## *The Medicine Dance*

I, of course, thought that it must indeed be a marvelous thing and I was very happy about it. What I was most eager to see was myself killed and then brought to life again in the lodge, as it was believed happened to the members of the Medicine Dance. I also realized that a member of the Medicine Dance, whether man or woman, was different from a person not belonging to it and I was quite anxious not to be an ordinary person any longer but to be a medicine man.

As soon as we finished building the ceremonial lodge the ceremony began, and the first thing the people did was to sing. Then the leader of the band that was giving the dance arose and delivered a speech:

All those who are sitting here I greet. We are waiting for all of you to have compassion upon us. Nephew,[28] I shall now tell you the road you are to travel. He whom we call nephew, the hare, the founder of the Medicine Dance, obtained this life-ensuring ceremony for us. This is the only life; no other exists. Exert yourself to follow in the road of your ancestors and adhere to the ceremony that represented their mode of life. I know you will hearken to what I say. Assuredly you will listen, for thereby you will help and benefit yourself and, at the same time, attain the good life.

Never do anything wrong. Do not steal. Do not quarrel. If on any occasion you meet a woman on the road, turn to the right, never to the left. No matter who the woman is, do not take liberties with her. This is what the old people taught us and if you perform the rites of this ceremony you will obtain the life that we desire for you.

[28] The person to be initiated is always called nephew.

## *Crashing Thunder*

*159 796 I beg of you to try with all your powers for I wish you to lead a happy life. This truly is our sincere wish.

● 537 Ancestors, we greet you. Our ancestors long since departed, performed the ceremony just as we do to-day. We are to have a tear-pouring ceremony for the spirit of the [765] one who has died. All those who are here will mourn for him. Whatever it is that his ghost can obtain for us by his requests,—all that he left behind him in this world—beseechingly we shall ask him to obtain. It is said that this is always procurable. What we mean is additional life. All that our ancestors desired, that we too earnestly desire. So it is when the ceremony was first established. Now we shall sing a mourning song. We must sing it with sincerity and when we cry we must not allow our voices to quaver. It has been said that if a man is bad his crying will be insincere. Ancestors, we greet you.

*159 796 The first night they kept me up all night and I heard a good deal about sacred affairs. I was not sleepy at any time during the night and I remained this way until morning. I enjoyed it all so much that I did not even go to sleep the next day. The next night they kept me up again but as before I did not get sleepy. On this night they told me even more things. Throughout three successive nights I did not sleep at all. On the fourth night they sang till morning. On the fifth night they were to have what is called the rehearsal. During the day many people began to gather. In the afternoon only the old men and myself went to the sweat lodge. Only the men who had received special invitations were allowed. When we came out it was sundown. Then those occupying the eastern